

BALTIMORE CONVENTION

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BALTIMORE CONVENTION - 304

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The 1864 Election

Baltimore Convention

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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DELEGATES FROM MASSACHUSETTS TO THE UNION CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE. The following is a list of Delegates and Alternates chosen to represent the several Congressional Districts of Massachusetts at the Union Convention for the nomination of a Presidential Candidate, to be held Baltimore on the 7th of June, 1864:

At Large. Delegates—Alexander H. Bullock, Worcester; John A. Andrew, Boston; William Claflin, Newton; James T. Robinson, Adams. Alternates—Moses Kimball, Boston; Julius Rockwell, Pittsfield; Wm. Whiting, Roxbury; Jonathan E. Field, Stockbridge.

First District. Delegates—George Marston, Barnstable; Jonathan Bourne, Jr., New Bedford. Alternates—Charles F. Swift, Yarmouth; Foster Hooper, Fall River.

Second District. Delegates—B. W. Harris, East Bridgewater; H. A. Scudler, Dorchester. Alternates—B. F. White, Weymouth; Caleb Swan, Easton.

Third District. Delegates—George A. Shaw of Boston; Ginery Twitchell of Boston. Alternates—Albert J. Wright of South Boston; Geo. S. Hale of Boston.

Fourth District. Delegates—Frank B. Fay, Chelsea; Robert I. Burbank, Boston. Alternates—E. F. Porter, East Boston; Isaac S. Ware, Cambridge.

Fifth District. Delegates—Stephen H. Phillips, Salem; John G. Hurd, Amesbury. Alternates—Edwin Walden, Lynn; Benj. H. Smith, Gloucester.

Sixth District. Delegates—Gerry W. Cochrane, Methuen; George O. Brastow, Somerville. Alternates—F. M. Stone, Waltham; N. B. Bryant, Melrose.

Seventh District. Delegates—Charles R. Train, Framingham; Tappan Wentworth, Lowell. Alternates—J. C. Ayer, Lowell; Hon. Geo. S. Boutwell, Groton.

Eighth District. Delegates—Aaron C. Mayhew, Milford; Charles Adams, Jr., North Brookfield. Alternates—J. D. Wheeler, Grafton; Francis W. Bird, Walpole.

Ninth District. Delegates—Charles A. Stevens, Ware; Charles G. Stevens, Clinton. Alternates—C. H. Merriam, Leominster; Henry L. James, Williamsburg.

Tenth District. Delegates—Henry Alexander, Jr., Springfield; A. J. Waterman, Lenox. Alternates—R. W. Kellogg, Southwick; Henry Chickering, Pittsfield.

Boston Journal June 2, 1864

THE PRESIDENCY.

Meeting of the Republican Nominating Convention at Baltimore To-day.

New York Herald June 7 1864

Lincoln's Prospects for Re-nomination.

The Candidates for the Vice Presidency,

As, As, As.

Our Baltimore Despatches.

BALTIMORE, June 6, 1864.

The political elements are in a decided ferment this morning. It is all Lincoln on the surface; but they are exceedingly uneasy, and not like men groping in the dark. The Grant meeting in New York on Saturday night perplexes them. "What does it mean?" is the constant inquiry. "Will the committee appointed there call a convention?"

It presents a feature which they little anticipated. Many of them begin to see visions of defeat—if the defeat of the nominee here—they keep up an outward appearance of courage. But there is a great deal of holowness in their professions. The leaders are evidently anxious for some one to sympathize with them.

With all this, Lincoln's nomination still appears to be certain, and will be the result, unless some unforeseen circumstances gets up a furor for Grant and carries the Convention by storm. Were it not for the fact that nearly two thirds of the Convention are officeholders, Lincoln could not be nominated. Almost every delegate from Connecticut is an officeholder. A large portion of the balance of the New England delegation are in the same boat. The New York delegation, with about a dozen exceptions, are officeholders. The Pennsylvania delegation have several of the same class. Some of the Eastern delegation are nearly all of the same stamp. If there ever was a Convention entitled to the title of "office holders," this is that Convention. In fact, it appears that the Lincoln men were afraid to trust any person but office holders. These men, as a matter of course, have to shout and vote for their master. Their pockets—the plunder and spoils—hold them. Lincoln, of course, in such a crowd, will win. But, as President Lincoln remarked to a delegate who called on him at the White House yesterday, "It is one thing to nominate and another to elect."

A leading delegate from Ohio is said to have announced himself for Fremont in preference to Lincoln. Every now and then, a member of different delegations stands out from his colleagues and boldly talks for Grant. Thus the affair is stewing and the delegates sweating.

The Missouri delegation still presents a troublesome and vexed phase. The Blair set do not represent any considerable portion of the people. It is simply a faction delegation.

Some of the border States men have prepared resolutions denouncing the Amnesty proclamation. They assert that most of these men, after taking the oath, arm themselves, go into the bushes, and shoot down Union men as they pass. Others claim that a platform will be adopted to satisfy the radicals but none can imagine that they will denounce arbitrary arrests, which was one of the strongest points at Cleveland.

The Lincoln men all lay great stress upon the point that Grant will not allow his name to be used. Those elected by the recent State Convention declare that they will not vote for Lincoln if admitted to the Convention; but if he is nominated by acclamation they will not take any stand in the Convention against him, reserving their course to be decided by events after reaching home.

The Cleveland Convention is not thoroughly relished here. The Lincoln men talk of it with contempt; but their very manner of speaking exhibits uneasiness.

The indications are that the platform and resolutions will be a thorn in the Convention for the Presidency, and convey the idea that Grant is plodged beyond a doubt. This may be; but it is stated by those who are intimate with Grant, that he considers himself the property of the administration until he takes Richmond and destroys Lee's army, and then he is public property.

The Private Secretaries of his Excellency the President are here, busy as mortals well can be.

The Ohio delegation are pressing ex-Governor Dennison for President of the Convention. It now

looks as though they would succeed.

The New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut delegations all oppose the renomination of Hamlin. The latter delegation probably take that course on account of Hamlin's part in securing the appointment of Gideon Welles as Secretary of the Navy against their wishes. Maine is the only New England delegation known to be for Hamlin. This fact, which is a measure grows out of the fact that New England Senators are chairmen of the most important committees in the Senate, will, beyond a doubt, throw him. Pennsylvania is still for him, but if dropped will then present Cameron.

The West are urging Dickinson. Johnson is growing weaker. The Seward and Weed men are opposing the move to take the Vice President from New York. It stands in the way of a position in the Cabinet. General W. S. Hancock's name has been started for that position by the latter interest, but the Pennsylvania delegation declares that they do not want him. Weed and his party may yet turn to Hamlin or Cameron to prevent the nominee coming from New York. Tremaine is still urged by the young men in the New York delegation, and has some strength in the West.

Montgomery Blair and Senator Lane were in consultation for a long time in Washington yesterday. The Missouri delegation was the question. It is said that Lane at first went for the claybank or Blair delegation; but his Kansas colleagues repudiated it. Lane, therefore, goes for the charcoal or radical set. It is given out in Washington that Blair will withdraw his delegations and have the others admitted under a sort of patched up compromise.

There are strong indications that the delegations from the States which have been in rebellion will be all rejected. This course is now talked of to get rid of the South Carolina delegation—half white and half black. They desire to shirk the question and prevent committing the party on the miscogene proposition. It is reported that Senator Lane has decided to lead off in that direction.

Events are crowding thick and fast upon us. Every hour adds to the confusion and increases the muddle.

BALTIMORE, June 6—10 P. M.

The telegraph operator or printer made me say, in my despatch of yesterday, that there were a number of "great" men here. I wrote it "Grant" men. As to the great men, I have been looking all day and have been unable to find them. They are very few and far between among the delegates here. If there are any great men they are so spread out that they are mighty thin. There

is a splendid assemblage of small men. "That's what's the matter."

The excitement and confusion over the candidate for Vice President has assumed all manner of forms to day. It has been a sploty and interesting muddle. The New England delegation were nearly unanimous against Hamlin this morning, and the tide was strongly setting in for Dickinson. The dropping of Hamlin, opens a fight in Maine between him and Fessenden for the United States Senate. Fessenden was telegraphed, and has been moving heaven and earth to secure the nomination of Hamlin, in order to keep the coast clear for himself for Senator for another term. He has succeeded in changing the front of a large number of delegates, which, taken in connection with the contest in the New York delegation, and the uncertainty that existed as to their decision, has turned the tide strongly in favor of the old ticket, and makes the nomination of Lincoln and Hamlin almost positive. If this is accomplished it will be a great relief to the Seward and Wood party.

The Pennsylvania delegation met in caucus this afternoon, and unanimously decided for the renomination of both Lincoln and Hamlin. It was understood that if Hamlin was set aside the entire delegation should then present Cameron. Thaddeus Stevens was endorsed for permanent President of the Convention. The Missouri contested delegation was talked over, but no decision arrived at. Mr. Stevens offered a resolution virtually rejecting the delegations from all those States which have no representation in Congress. This was debated for some time, and on a vote postponing the decision until to-morrow Mr. Cameron gave the casting vote in favor of postponing.

The Pennsylvania delegation presents a united front, and will be one of the most influential delegations in the Convention. They adopted a resolution for the insertion of a plank in the platform amending the constitution, forever prohibiting slavery. If the Committee on Resolutions do not report it; Cameron is instructed to offer it in the Convention.

The New York delegation met this evening, and recommended John A. King for permanent President of the Convention. Raymond declined it. George W. Curtis was nominated for secretary. The vote for the nomination of Lincoln was unanimous. A lengthy squabble took place on the candidate for Vice President. A ballot was finally taken, and Hamlin received twenty-eight votes, Dickinson sixteen, Tremaine six, Johnson eight—balance scattering. No person received a majority. The caucus then adjourned until to-morrow without any further action. This result would look as though Weed would carry his point, and prevent the Vice President from being taken from New York, thus leaving the coast clear for Seward in the Cabinet.

The Ohio delegation voted for Lincoln, but took no action on Vice President, although most of them were for a new deal.

Illinois and Indiana both passed over the same question. Massachusetts was silent, but it is now understood that the tide in that State has turned for Hamlin. Pennsylvania leading off for Hamlin, and the failure of New York to agree, has, with Fessenden's operations, caused a complete change of front. It may take another turn to-morrow.

Rev. Dr. Breckinridge has been finally settled upon for temporary chairman. Lane, of Kansas, desired that position, but was unable to secure it. The permanent president is doubtful; almost every State has a candidate.

The radical Missouri delegation will undoubtedly be admitted, and all delegations from the Southern States rejected.

A circular has been generally circulated headed, "Queries for Abraham's Friends," which has created considerable sensation.

The National Covenant of Loyal Leagues has been in session all day. It has adopted no resolutions or platform. Its session was secret; but several important points have transpired. They will leave their members free to vote for any legal candidate for President and other official positions. That point is significant, in view of the generally conceded result of the Convention to-morrow. They recommend equal protection to all classes of soldiers, for the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine, forever prohibiting slavery by constitutional amendment, and for sustaining the government in the suppression of the rebellion. Considerable was said in regard to the colonization of the negro, elevation of the race, and measures for their development, but nothing definite was decided upon on this point, nor will there be. They have another meeting to-morrow.

The Republican convention meets at twelve o'clock. Governor Andrew is not here. His alternate is to act for him. Among the notables present are Cameron, Thaddeus Stevens, McClure, Ketchum and Judge Lewis, from Pennsylvania; Thurlow Weed, John A. and Preston King, Dickinson and Tremaine, of New York. Greeley has not turned up. Ex-Governors Tod and Dennison, of Ohio; Mr. Maynard and Colonel Crawford, of Tennessee; Dr. Breckinridge and Colonel Burge, of Kentucky; Fessenden, Lane of Kansas, and Morgan of the United States Senate, with a large sprinkling of Congressmen. Pat Halstead, of New Jersey, is the busiest man here. A crowd gathered in front of the Ohio delegation, at Barnum's, and were entertained with Lincoln speeches by members of that delegation.

THE PRESIDENCY.

Reception of Delegates at the White House.

6-11-64

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1864.

To-day has witnessed a repetition of the scenes of yesterday at the White House. Mr. Lincoln has been continually occupied in giving audience to delegates of the Baltimore Convention. Louisiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Vermont and some other States were admitted during to-day to express their congratulations upon the nomination. Numbers of delegates are still anxiously awaiting their turn to present themselves before the throne and claim a share of the benefits expected to be derived from the work done at Baltimore. It is noticeable that the returning delegates appear to regard the whole business as completed. Hardly any allusion is made to the election part of the programme.

Mr. McPherson has declined the position of Secretary of the Republican National Executive Committee, because he is occupying all the time not devoted to official duties to the preparation of a new political text book, to include all important matters since the commencement of the war.

Meeting of the National Union Committee.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1864.

A meeting of the National Union Committee was held in this city to-day, when, on motion of Mr. SEYER, of Ohio, it was resolved that the chairman appoint an executive committee of five, and that the headquarters of the committee be in the city of New York.

On motion of Senator LANE, of Kansas, it was resolved that the chairman of this committee be a member and chairman of the Executive Committee.

Hon. E. M. McPherson declining to accept the office of Secretary, it was resolved that Hon. M. D. Sperry, of Connecticut, be appointed in his place, and that he also be a member and Secretary of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Senator LANE, of Kansas, it was resolved that an advisory committee of five be appointed by the Chairman, to have its headquarters at St. Louis, for such purposes and with such powers as the Executive Committee may deem expedient to confer upon it.

The CHAIRMAN then appointed as the Executive Committee Messrs. Claflin, of Massachusetts; Ward, of New Jersey; Senter, of Ohio; Purviance, of Pennsylvania, and Clark, of New Hampshire; and as the Advisory Committee provided for by the resolution, Messrs. Lane, of Kansas; S. H. Boyd, of Missouri; B. C. Cook, of Illinois; D. F. Stubbs, of Iowa, and Thomas Simpson, of Minnesota.

On motion, it was resolved that the Chairman of the committee be also treasurer.

On motion of Senator LANE, it was resolved that the Chairman be authorized and requested to correspond with the President of the National League in regard to the Presidential campaign.

The committee then adjourned.

HENRY J. RAYMOND, Chairman.

N. J. SPERRY, Secretary.

The Baltimore Convention Nominations at Nashville.

NASHVILLE, June 10, 1864.

The Baltimore Convention nominations were received with much enthusiasm. Salutes were fired, and Aody Johnson made an eloquent national speech at St. Cloud Hotel amid great applause.

How the President Heard of His Nomination.

[From the Washington Republican, June 9.]

At half-past two o'clock yesterday, despatches were sent to the President by different persons announcing his re-nomination, but he was absent from his official room to the White House at the time, and did not see them. Some two hours afterward, ignorant of his own nomination, he called at the War Office, and accidentally saw a despatch there announcing the nomination of Mr. Johnson for Vice President.

The President expressed his surprise at the curious action of the Convention, as it seemed to him, and thought it had got the cart before the horse; but was asked by an operator if he had not seen a despatch announcing his own re-nomination for the Presidency. On his replying that he had not he was informed that such a despatch had been sent to him. He then explained that probably his absence from his official room in the Executive Mansion was the reason of his not having seen it. Upon returning to the Executive Mansion the President found the despatches referred to, announcing his re-nomination at half-past two o'clock.

SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1864.

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER.

WE print below the letter of the Committee of the National Union Convention informing Mr. LINCOLN of his nomination, and the President's reply. His unanimous renomination by a great popular assembly after three years' administration of the Government is the most honorable and substantial approval of the general policy of that administration. The reply, therefore, is short, simple, and dignified. The President neither explains nor defends his policy. It has been open to the country, and the country is content. Having seen him faithful and wise in the past, and understanding the infinitely difficult circumstances of his position, loyal men do not fear to trust him in the future.

The single explanation which the President makes in his reply is in regard to the resolution of the Convention upon the French movements in Mexico. That resolution expressed in the strongest terms the popular jealousy of all foreign monarchical intervention upon this continent as menacing our peace and independence. The President replies that, while fully concurring in the resolution, he ought to prevent misunderstanding by adding that his executive action upon the subject will be unchanged "so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable." In other words, he does not propose to go to war with France under present circumstances, nor idly threaten to go to war. His position is the true and dignified one for the Government of the United States.

The President pays a just and touching tribute to the soldiers and sailors whom neither he nor the country can too heartily honor. And like all that he says or writes, this letter will commend the President only more nearly to the heart of the people whom he serves so faithfully and well.

Hon. Abraham Lincoln: NEW YORK, 14th June, 1864.

SIR,—The National Union Convention, which assembled in Baltimore on the 7th of June, 1864, has instructed us to inform you that you were nominated with enthusiastic unanimity for the Presidency of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March next.

The resolutions of the Convention, which we have already had the honor of placing in your hands, are a full and clear statement of the principles which inspired its action, and which, as we believe, the great body of Union men in the country heartily approve. Whether those resolutions express the national gratitude to our soldiers and sailors; or the national scorn of compromise with rebels, and consequent dishonor; or the patriotic duty of union and success; whether they approve the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Constitutional amendment, the employment of former slaves as Union soldiers, or the solemn obligation of the Government promptly to redress the wrongs of every soldier of the Union of whatever color or race; whether they declare the inviolability of the pledged faith of the nation, or offer the national hospitality to the oppressed of every land, or urge the union by railroad of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; whether they recommend public economy and vigorous taxation, or assert the fixed popular opposition to the establishment by armed force of foreign monarchies in the immediate neighborhood of the United States, or declare that those only are worthy of official trust who approve unreservedly the views and policy indicated in the resolutions,—they were equally hailed with the heartiness of profound conviction.

Believing with you, Sir, that this is the people's war for the maintenance of a Government which you have justly described as "of the people, by the people, for the people," we are very sure that you will be glad to know, not only from the resolutions themselves, but from the singular harmony and enthusiasm with which they were adopted, how warm is the popular welcome of every measure in the prosecution of the war, which is as vigorous, unmistakable, and unflinching as the national purpose itself. No right, for instance, is so precious and sacred to the American heart as that of personal liberty. Its violation is regarded with just, instant, and universal jealousy. Yet in this hour of peril every faithful citizen concedes that, for the sake of national existence and the common welfare, individual liberty may, as the Constitution provides in case of rebellion, be sometimes summarily constrained, asking only with painful anxiety that in every instance, and to the least detail, that absolutely necessary power shall not be hastily or unwisely exercised.

We believe, Sir, that the honest will of the Union men of the country was never more truly represented than in

this Convention. Their purpose we believe to be the overthrow of armed rebels in the field, and the security of permanent peace and union by liberty and justice under the Constitution. That these results are to be achieved amidst cruel perplexities they are fully aware. That they are to be reached only by cordial unanimity, counsel is undeniable. That good men may sometimes differ as to the means and the time they know. That in the conduct of all human affairs the highest duty is to determine, in the angry conflict of passion, how much good may be practically accomplished, is their sincere persuasion. They have watched your official course, therefore, with unflinching attention; and amidst the bitter taunts of eager friends and the fierce denunciation of enemies; now mov-

ing too fast for some, now too slowly for others, they have seen you throughout this tremendous contest patient, sagacious, faithful, just; leaning upon the heart of the great mass of the people, and satisfied to be moved by its mighty pulsations.

It is for this reason that, long before the Convention met, the popular instinct had plainly indicated you as its candidate; and the Convention, therefore, merely recorded the popular will. Your character and career prove your unswerving fidelity to the cardinal principles of American Liberty and of the American Constitution. In the name of that Liberty and Constitution, Sir, we earnestly request your acceptance of this nomination; reverently commending our beloved country, and you, its Chief Magistrate, with all its brave sons who, on sea and land, are faithfully defending the good old American cause of equal rights, to the blessing of Almighty God.

We are, Sir, respectfully,

Your friends and fellow-citizens,

WILLIAM DENNISON, Ohio, *Chairman*.
JOSHUA DRUMMOND, Maine.
THOMAS E. SAWYER, New Hampshire.
BRADLEY BARLOW, Vermont.
A. H. BULLOCK, Massachusetts.
A. M. GAMMELL, Rhode Island.
C. S. BUSHNELL, Connecticut.
G. W. CURTIS, New York.
W. A. NEWELL, New Jersey.
HENRY JOHNSON, Pennsylvania.
N. B. SMITHERS, Delaware.
W. L. W. SEAAROOK, Maryland.
JOHN F. HUME, Missouri.
G. W. HITE, Kentucky.
E. P. TYFFE, Ohio.
CYRUS M. ALLEN, Indiana.
W. BUSHNELL, Illinois.
L. P. ALEXANDER, Michigan.
A. W. RANDALL, Wisconsin.
A. OLIVER, Iowa.
THOMAS SIMPSON, Minnesota.
JOHN BIDWELL, California.
THOMAS H. PEARNE, Oregon.
LEROY KRAMER, West Virginia.
A. C. WILDE, Kansas.
M. M. BRIEN, Tennessee.
J. P. GREVES, Nevada.
A. A. ATOCHA, Louisiana.
A. S. PADDOCK, Nebraska.
VALENTINE DELL, Arkansas.
JOHN A. NYE, Colorado.
A. B. SLOANAKER, Utah.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 27, 1864.

Hon. William Dennison and others, a Committee of the National Union Convention:

GENTLEMEN,—Your letter of the 14th instant, formally notifying me that I have been nominated by the Convention you represent for the Presidency of the United States for four years from the fourth of March next, has been received. The nomination is gratefully accepted, as the Resolutions of the Convention—called the platform—are heartily approved.

While the resolution in regard to the supplanting of republican government upon the Western Continent is fully concurred in, there might be misunderstanding were I not to say that the position of the Government in relation to the action of France in Mexico as assumed through the State Department and indorsed by the Convention, among the measures and acts of the Executive, will be faithfully maintained so long as the state of facts shall leave that position pertinent and applicable.

I am especially gratified that the soldier and the seaman were not forgotten by the Convention, as they forever must and will be remembered by the grateful country for whose salvation they devote their lives.

Thanking you for the kind and complimentary terms in which you have communicated the nomination and other proceedings of the Convention, I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

LINCOLN WASN'T IN IT.

DR. I. A. POWELL, AN ILLINOIS DELEGATE, ON HAMLIN'S DEFEAT.

Evidence from One Who Sat in the Baltimore Convention That the President Had No Share in the Maine Man's Discomfiture—Illinois Men Surprised and Disappointed at the Outcome—Daniel S. Dickinson Their Second Choice for Vice-President.

Washington *Star*, July 18: A chapter of much more than ordinary interest in the controversy now in progress about the defeat of Hannibal Hamlin for renomination for the Vice-Presidency is contributed by Dr. I. A. Powell of Illinois, at present holding a government office here. Dr. Powell was an intimate personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, and as such was chosen to be one of the Delegates-at-Large from Illinois to the Baltimore convention in 1864. He saw Mr. Lincoln both immediately before and immediately after the convention, and was in position to know, and did know, just how Mr. Lincoln felt on the subject of the party platform and the national ticket.

In a long conversation with a *Star* reporter today on this subject Dr. Powell said:

"Mr. Lincoln was not in the remotest degree responsible for the naming of Andrew Johnson as his yoke mate on that ticket. He neither suggested nor encouraged such action, and I feel justified in saying even that he was probably as much surprised at it as were the members of the Illinois delegation to the convention. That we were surprised I can sincerely testify. I do not mean to say by this that we had not heard it suggested that Mr. Hamlin would be opposed in the convention for renomination, but the movement had not appeared formidable to us, and certainly the name of Andrew Johnson had not come to my ears in connection with it.

How the Illinois Men Stood.

"The attitude of the Illinois delegation in that convention we saw in advance must be a conservative one. We were all personal friends of Mr. Lincoln; we were about to receive, without the shadow of opposition, all that we were asking, the renomination of our favorite, and we felt that for the rest we should not obtrude our wishes on the convention. We wanted the whole work well done, of course, and we felt that that would be accomplished without any particular activity on our part. In taking that position, too, we knew that we would be acting in strict accord with the wishes of Mr. Lincoln, whose position at that time was well understood by all his friends. We thought well of Mr. Hamlin. We believed him to be an honest man and a patriot, and our purpose was to vote for his renomination.

"When we got to Baltimore we saw at once that we could not be too particular in keeping our resolution to remain free of all entanglements as to the platform and the Vice-Presidency. Our headquarters were at once the center of interest, and inquiries began pouring in as to our attitude on this proposition and that. The assumption was that we had

come to the convention armed with instructions from Mr. Lincoln, and in whatever we did would be carrying out his wishes. As well as we could we kept our hands off. We listened respectfully to whatever was communicated to us, but our only reply was an expression of gratitude at the general favor in which Mr. Lincoln was regarded. It was generally known that we would vote for Mr. Hamlin, but we did not parade our intentions nor seek to influence others to support him.

"Some stress has been laid on the fact that Leonard Swett of our delegation talked of Joseph Holt of Kentucky for the Vice-Presidency. That, however, was merely a personal complement that Swett was paying to an old friend. The name of Mr. Holt was never presented to or considered by the Illinois delegation in connection with the Vice-Presidency at any time. Our purpose from the outset was to vote for Mr. Hamlin.

Where Johnson's Battle Was Won.

"Now, as to our action in the convention," continued Dr. Powell. "The hottest contest was in the Committee on Credentials, and the occasion was the proposition to admit delegates from the South. Tennessee had sent in a particularly strong delegation and I voted for their admission. I represented Illinois on the committee, and when it was represented to us how unjust it would be to decline to receive men like Parson Brownlow and Horace Maynard, who had braved so much and suffered so much for the Union, the proposition could not longer be resisted. It was warmly opposed, however, and provoked much bitterness. I did not see it then, but I afterward saw the full significance of that contest. Andrew Johnson's fate hung in that balance. Tennessee's triumph in the Committee on Credentials was the forerunner of Johnson's triumph in the convention.

"B. C. Cook, whom I know very well and esteem very highly, was the Chairman of our delegation. I see it stated that he attributes the nomination of Johnson to a speech which Horace Maynard made to the convention in Johnson's behalf. I differ with him on that point. In my judgment the nomination of Andrew Johnson was due to a short speech made in his behalf by C. M. Allen, Chairman of the Indiana delegation. Allen was a man of ability, then as well known in Indiana as Oliver P. Morton. He was an old friend of mine and discussed the case of Johnson with me fully. The Indiana delegates sat first across the aisle from us in the convention hall, and when nominations for Vice-President were in order Allen walked across the aisle and asked to be introduced to Mr. Cook, our Chairman. I presented him, and he said to Mr. Cook, in my hearing: 'I am going to nominate Andrew Johnson for Vice-President. I don't know whether there will be a second to the proposition or not, but what I want you men to do is to vote for him if Hamlin can't win.' Mr. Cook replied: 'We are for Hamlin and shall vote for him.' Then turning to the members of the delegation he began discussing the proposition. Allen meanwhile sent a card up to Gov. Denison of Ohio, who was presiding over the convention, asking to be recognized, and he was recognized. He then stood up on his chair and delivered a rattling speech, nominating Andrew Johnson for Vice-President. It caught the convention, and, coming as it did from a man who lived north of Mason and Dixon's line, it was especially effective. About the rest there is no dispute. Johnson was nominated on the second ballot by a large majority. But the vote of Illinois was cast for Hannibal Hamlin."

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY IN 1864.

We find the following statement in the Albany *Evening Journal*:

"PARTON says that ANDREW JOHNSON was the choice of Mr. LINCOLN for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. WEED, in the *Commercial Advertiser*, corrects this, and says that DANIEL S. DICKINSON was the choice of Mr. LINCOLN, and that he would have been nominated had not Mr. CURTIS, in presenting him to the New York delegation, avowed that the object of the nomination was hostility to Mr. SEWARD. This induced a majority of the delegation to go for Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. WEED says that he derived his knowledge of President LINCOLN's preferences from his Private Secretary, who was present at the Convention to communicate, discreetly, his views."

There is some mistake here. When it became evident that a former Democrat was to be nominated at Baltimore for Vice-President Mr. CURTIS, in the caucus of the New York delegation, supported DANIEL S. DICKINSON, and he stated what was perfectly well understood, that some delegates felt that Mr. DICKINSON's election would involve the resignation of Mr. SEWARD, on the ground that New York could hardly expect to have both the Vice-President and the Secretary of State. This was a result undoubtedly designed by some who supported Mr. DICKINSON, but it was expressly repudiated by Mr. CURTIS, who alluded to it for the purpose of disowning any such intention. He was one of the very last of the Radical Republicans to acknowledge the defection of Mr. SEWARD; and with the feeling that Mr. CURTIS had for him in June, 1864, it was simply impossible that in an assembly of New York Republicans, whose SEWARD sympathies were known to him, he should support Mr. DICKINSON with the avowed object of displacing Mr. SEWARD. Mr. CURTIS, in supporting Mr. DICKINSON, differed from his SEWARD friends, and they carried the nomination of Mr. JOHNSON not because of any declaration of hostility to Mr. SEWARD, but because they knew before the caucus that Mr. JOHNSON was Mr. SEWARD's choice. Upon the death of President LINCOLN the friends of Mr. SEWARD were very anxious to have it known that they nominated Mr. JOHNSON; and an article in *Harper's Weekly* some two years ago frankly gave them all the credit of their work.

Harper's Oct 19 1867

DOOLITTLE'S BRIEF SPEECH

Chicago Journal 7-28-1857

Auditor Work of the office of the county superintendent of public service relates a little incident concerning Senator Doolittle, who died yesterday, which he says greatly impressed him.

"A friend and I were walking with the senator a few months ago," said he, "when the conversation turned to war times.

"Senator Doolittle was a staunch supporter of the anti-slavery policy and a great admirer of Lincoln. 'The most eloquent speech of my life,' said the senator, 'was the briefest one I ever made. It was upon the eve of the nomination of Lincoln for the second term of his presidency. A number of the leaders of the party had been called together secretly to discuss the advisability of re-electing Lincoln. They were much disturbed over the question and after others had spoken, called upon me, as I happened to be present, to make a speech.

"I said: 'Fellow Countrymen: I believe in God Almighty; and, so believing, I have faith in Abraham Lincoln.'"

"I have learned later that that speech was directly responsible for the renomination of Lincoln. I believe the meeting at which it was made was kept so secret that the newspapers failed to learn of it, and the public never knew how near it came to losing this great man as its chief executive."

CONVENTION OF 1864

BY SENATOR CULLOM

Feb 12 / 1904

I spent ten days in Washington during the last of February and the first of March, in 1864, before the national convention in the following June. As I stood about the two halls of Congress, I heard many Senators and Representatives complaining and finding fault with Lincoln. I also learned that Secretary Chase was secretly a candidate for the Presidency. Before leaving for home, I visited the White House to bid Mr. Lincoln good-bye. I told him I was going home. I did not know much about the ways of Presidents then, and I said, "Mr. Lincoln, do you ever permit people to talk to you about yourself?" He promptly replied, "Certainly." Whereupon I said, "I would like to tell you a few things before I go." He asked me to sit down. I said, "Mr. Lincoln, I have just seen a secret circular, known as the Pomeroy circular, sent out in the interests of Mr. Chase," and, I added, "If Mr. Chase is plotting to secure the Presidency against you while a member of your cabinet, I would turn him out." Whereupon Lincoln quietly replied, "Let him alone: he cannot do me any more harm in here than he can outside." I then told him that nearly everybody about Congress seemed to be against his nomination. He took down his directory, which was well marked, and showed me that the situation was not so bad as I thought. He seemed little concerned, and I went away.

The convention came on; he was unanimously renominated. A short time after the convention, I returned to Washington. When I called to see the President, and was shown in, I saw at once a twinkle of his eye, and, as I approached him, he said, "Cullom, do you remember that you told me when here before that everybody about Congress seemed to be against me?" I replied that I did. He said that the situation reminded him of the story of two Irishmen, who came to America and started out through the contry on foot to secure work. They came to some woods, and as they passed along they heard a strange noise. They did not know what it was. So they hunted about, but could find nothing. Finally, one said to the other, "Pat! Pat! Let's go on; this thing is nothing but a damned noise." Lincoln said that the opposition to him was nothing but a noise.

J W B L A T

The Union Party

Organization That Elected a President

Survived on a Single Campaign.

IT IS usual to say that the Republican party came into power in 1861 and that it enjoyed uninterrupted executive control until 1885, when Cleveland became President.

This is not true. The convention which met at Baltimore June 8, 1864, forty-seven years ago today, and nominated Abraham Lincoln for a second term was not a Republican convention, and did not pretend to be. It was a convention called by the Union party and the organization that had triumphed at the polls four years previously was not even referred to in the platform, although the War President himself was endorsed and his administration approved for its "political wisdom, unselfish patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and to the principles of American liberty."

The second place on the ticket was given to a man who had always been an uncompromising Democrat, a man who made no pretence that he had changed his political coat—Andrew Johnson.

Johnson was Senator from a Southern State at the beginning of the war, and he became Military Governor of Tennessee before the struggle was far advanced. He loved the Union that had lifted him from poverty and obscurity to exalted station with an intense passion, and it is doubtful if a wiser choice could have been made for the Vice-Presidency at the time.

"Resolved," the platform resolutions began, "That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that, laying all political opinions aside, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling, by force of arms, the rebellion now raging against its authority, and bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it."

The platform denounced slavery as the cause of the war, and declared for its abolition; thanked the soldiers and sailors in the service, and promised that the national faith pledged for the redemption of the public debt should be kept inviolate.

The Democratic Convention of that same year, while it pledged fidelity to the Union, threw away whatever possibility there might have been of success by the second resolution of the platform, which follows:—

"Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which under the pretence of military necessity or war power, higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially im-

paired, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practical moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

With a million or more men under arms, with much of the best blood of the North already shed, with the Confederacy tottering to its fall, this was a remarkable principle to adopt. The Union party at once accused the opposition of voting the war a "failure," and the campaign was made upon that issue. "After four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war" could hardly be interpreted as anything but an acknowledgment of "failure," and the people so regarded it, for Lincoln was re-elected on the Union ticket by a large majority, although there was undoubted dissension in the Republican party to which he professed allegiance. This dissension crystallized into a revolt and the bolters even went so far as to nominate a candidate, General John C. Fremont, who had proved a sad failure in the field. He was wise enough to decline, doing so with a bad grace, however, as was not unnatural to his temperament, and with a sneer at Lincoln's conduct of the war. Section 12 of the Cleveland (Fremont) platform, adopted in the Ohio city May 31, 1864, demanded "the confiscation of the lands of the rebels and their distribution among soldiers and actual settlers."

The Baltimore body which nominated Lincoln and Johnson was merely a part of the logic of events. There could not, in the nature of things, be two parties split upon economic theories of government in 1864. The paramount question—the only question—was union or disunion, and a few comparatively unimportant considerations growing out of the supreme issue—such as the disposition of the black race, the necessity of maintaining public credit, and care for disabled soldiers. Without union all of these subsidiary ideas would necessarily fail. Tens of thousands of Democrats in the North voted for Lincoln, and a few Republicans no doubt voted for McClellan or stayed at home. Union men were not unanimous in sentiment by any means. The Democratic candidate polled thousands of votes in the field, but this was due to a sentimental regard many old soldiers had for their first commander—for "Little Mac."

The generals in the field replied nobly to the Chicago declaration that the war had been a failure. This announcement came from the Democratic convention on the 29th of August and two days later General Sherman defeated the rebels at Jonesboro, Ga.; three days later he occupied Atlanta and less than three weeks later Sheridan gained his complete victory in the Shenandoah Valley. September 22 the battle of Fisher Hill was fought and won, and on the 28th Grant advanced his lines on the north side of the James River to within seven miles of Richmond. On the 19th of October Sheridan wrested victory from defeat at Cedar Creek, and on the 30th Hood was repulsed at Decatur, Ala. In fact the Confederacy was steadily dissolving through the autumn, the winter and the following spring, when it collapsed.

Lincoln's second election was regarded as a Republican victory, of course, and, in a way, it was, for a friendly Congress, overwhelmingly Republican, was returned at the same time. That his administration would have been strongly Republican if he had lived there can be no doubt, but it was not elected as such, and Johnson, on assuming office, soon demonstrated that he had not surrendered the faith of a lifetime.

In the retrospect it is hard to understand how the Democratic party could have courted its own destruction as it did in 1864. Four years previously, by a series of blunders, it had brought on the war, and if its traditions were to stand for anything in the North, policy alone should have dictated a willingness to co-operate with all factions in prosecuting operations to a speedy close. It would have been better for the future of the organization if it had ratified the Baltimore selection, or if it had nominated Johnson, even against his will, thus appropriating a part of the credit that came to the Union party.

It was not to be; could not be with Horatio Seymour in the chair, and such men as Vallandigham and Long and "Sunset" Cox on the floor. Seymour had shown himself to be in sympathy with the draft rioters while Governor of New York, Vallandigham had been sent into the

Confederate lines, and had returned from exile, while Long had been censured by a vote of Congress.

It is only fair to the memory of McClellan to say that he did not approve of the declaration that the war had been a failure, and he bluntly said as much in his letter of acceptance. "I could not," he wrote, "look into the faces of my gallant comrades of the army and navy who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors, and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain; that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often imperilled our lives."

This disclaimer did no good. "Little Mac" was in bad company. He carried only three States, New Jersey, Kentucky and Delaware, receiving but 21 electoral votes.

F. J. P.

CIVIL WAR

Fifty Years
Ago Today

June 8, 1864—Abraham Lincoln Was Nominated for a Second Term as President, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for the Vice Presidency, at a Convention of Republicans Held at Baltimore. Reasons for the Choice of Johnson.

Fifty years ago today Abraham Lincoln was nominated for a second term as president of the United States, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee for the vice presidency, at a convention of republicans held at Baltimore.

The renomination of Lincoln was in accordance with a spontaneous call from his party in all parts of the north. The choice of Johnson—destined to prove of the utmost importance, since the mantle of the president was to fall to him, on Lincoln's tragic death, at a time when the colossal burden of reconstructing the union was to be taken up—was dictated by purely political considerations.

It was believed that a candidate from a border state, and a democrat, would draw more votes than a republican candidate from a northern state. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine had served four years as vice president without displaying conspicuous ability.

Political exigencies thus brought the former east Tennessee tailor into the path of destiny.

Lincoln had publicly made no sign that might be interpreted as indicating his desire to serve again as president. His friends, however, knew that he wanted again to serve, in order to carry out to its end the great work of saving the union. On the subject of the vice presidency, the president had also been silent. Andrew Johnson, whom Lincoln had appointed military governor of Tennessee in 1862, and whose political activity had made him well known to the administration, might have been considered by Lincoln as an available candidate, but the president had not indicated, even to his friends, that he wished Mr. Johnson for his colleague on the ticket.

"To the Gates of Death."

Certain features of the Baltimore convention stand out today in bold relief, historically interesting and significant, among the forgotten details of the gathering, at which 506 delegates were present.

One was the choice, when the convention assembled on June 7, at the Front Street theater, of an eloquent old clergyman from a slave state, the Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge of Kentucky, as temporary chairman. Another was the impassioned speech, unpremeditated but welling up like a fountain, that flowed from the lips of the white-haired speaker. It breathed a militant spirit and a devotion to the union and the constitution. The speaker disclaimed political bias.

"As a union party I will follow you to the ends of the earth and to the gates of death," he told the convention. "But as an abolitionist party, as a republican party, as a whig party, as a democratic party, as an American party, I will not follow you one foot."

Of slavery he said: "I join myself with those who say away with it forever;

and I fervently pray God that the day may come when throughout the whole land every man may be as free as you are, and as capable of enjoying regulated liberty.

"I know very well that the sentiments I am uttering will cause me great odium in the state in which I was born, which I love. . . . But we have put our faces toward the way in which we intend to go, and we will go in it to the end."

That evening the convention was organized, with Governor William Dennison of Ohio as chairman. In a brief and eloquent speech the chairman spoke of Lincoln, "the wise and good man," as if he had been already nominated.

The platform presented to the convention next day reflected the problems of the hour confronting the country. The first resolution declared it the highest duty of every citizen to maintain the integrity of the union and to end the war by force of arms. Another declared for an amendment to the constitution terminating slavery. This was long applauded.

The soldiers and sailors were thanked for their services, Lincoln was praised for his wisdom, patriotism and fidelity, a railroad to the Pacific coast was favored; the redemption of the public debt was pledged, and the efforts of France to establish a monarchy in Mexico were deprecated.

"Lincoln—God Bless Him!"

Long nominating speeches had not come into fashion, and the nomination of Lincoln was strikingly and fittingly simple, it being made by B. C. Cook, chairman of the Illinois delegation, in these words:

"The state of Illinois again presents to the loyal people of this nation, for president of the United States, Abraham Lincoln—God bless him!"

The delegates of every state but one cast their votes for Lincoln. The delegates from Missouri, where there had been a party split, had been instructed to vote for Grant, and threw their twenty-two ballots for him. Lincoln had 484 votes. On motion of John H. Hume of Missouri the vote was made unanimous.

The choice of the vice presidential candidate was not so easily accomplished. A resolution that Lincoln and Hamlin be renominated by acclamation, previously made by Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, had been voted down. The names of Hannibal Hamlin, Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, General Lovell H. Rousseau of Kentucky, Andrew Johnson, General Winfield S. Hancock, General B. F. Butler, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana and Governor David Todd of Ohio were placed in nomination.

Johnson received 200 votes, Hamlin 150 and Dickinson 108. Before the result was announced Johnson was unanimously nominated.

Not "Swapping Horses."

The next day practically the whole convention adjourned to Washington to congratulate Lincoln. The delegates swarmed to the White house. When Governor Dennison notified Lincoln of his nomination, the president replied: "I will neither conceal my gratification nor restrain my expression of gratitude that the union people, through their convention, in the continued effort to save the nation, have deemed me not unworthy to remain in my present position."

To a delegation from the Union league he expressed himself the same day in more homely phrases, expressing his gratification that the convention had decided "not to swap horses while crossing the river."

The formal notification to Lincoln of his nomination, written on behalf of the convention by George William Curtis, is notable for its clearness of vision and its beauty of style.

The people of the country, he told Lincoln, had watched his official course with unflinching attention; and amid the bitter taunts of eager friends and the fierce renunciation of enemies, now moving too fast for some, now too slowly for others, they have seen you leaning upon the heart of the great mass of the people and satisfied to be moved by its mighty pulsations. . . . Your character and career prove your unswerving fidelity to the cardinal principles of American liberty and of the American constitution."

STORIES OF THE TOWN and the country 'round

By ED N. THACKER

Again my friend William N. Berryman has provided me with a document that has great historical interest, and so far as my information was concerned gives some hitherto unknown facts concerning the nomination of Abraham Lincoln to succeed himself as president of the United States. The career of this remarkable man seems to be a never-falling spring of new surprises. We read and read about him and his career from iowiness to saithood, and we think we are acquainted with all the high lights in his meteoric career. Volumes have been written about him, his biographers are many. And yet there are constantly appearing new facts concerning him and his career of greatness. The story of his life in all its completeness will probably never be told. But biographers and historians will continue to write about him as long as they come and go. Such is fame, and the service rendered to humanity which qualifies a man to receive it.

My first knowledge that some men are greater than others came to me when I was yet below the common school age, too young to understand all of the means by which they climb to greatness, but old enough to understand that the great man Lincoln was an idol of the people of the North who were courageously endeavoring to hold together a united nation under one flag and with freedom for both black and white. Of course I did not know what the big war was all about that was taking the lives of friends and neighbors. But intuitively I knew that as the sun is the center of the solar system we could not live without it, and something told me that Abraham Lincoln, whose name the people mentioned reverently and with prayers for his leadership, was the center of some sort of a great system that had God on its side. And so quite naturally my childish mind operated to the effect that with God and Abraham Lincoln enlisted on the side of right and of humanity, and a wonderfully beautiful flag, the defenders of the nation must triumph in the end. That, of course, was the thought, and also the hope of my elders, who never uttered a prayer that did not include the name of Lincoln in the petition for mighty favors from above. I worshiped Lincoln with a childish fervor that was inexplainable, and mourned his death while dispising his coward-

ly assassin, and wishing for him the same fate that befel the betrayer of the Christ.

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But getting to Lincoln's second nomination for the presidency. If you were to ask one hundred people the question, "How was the convention named that nominated Lincoln for the presidency at Baltimore, Md., in 1864?" ninety-nine, if not all, of the persons interrogated would answer, "Why, Republican, of course." And I don't think that would be a remarkable show of ignorance. For that, I think, has been the common understanding. When the leaflet before me carried the information that it was called the Union convention, I wouldn't believe it until I had consulted reference books. In the set I have never before known to go wrong, the "American Comprehensive Encyclopedia," I found recorded the historical fact that Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the second term in the presidential office at Baltimore, Md., June 7, 1864, by the Republicans, and that Andrew Johnson received the vice presidential nomination. And that's the way I always thought it was.

But in this bulletin, headed "Lincoln Lore" and which is published weekly by the Lincoln National Life Foundation, it is emphatically stated that "the call to the Baltimore convention was issued by a committee appointed in Chicago by the Republican convention of 1860. Strange to say, however, they did not call a Republican convention, but a Union convention. As one editorial writer put it, 'We known no other party than the Union men; that the men; that is to say, who, before the war belonged to all parties — Democrats, Republicans, and Bell-Everett men—and who are now united in an uninfluenced and intelligent support of the policy of the administration in conducting the war.'" One editor very frankly stated that he did not consider Mr. Lincoln politically as a Republican "for he is not. He is simply a Union man, and the strongest opposition to him springs from those who were formerly Republicans."

On June 7 the Union convention convened at Baltimore and nominated Abraham Lincoln, a former Republican, for president, and Andrew Johnson, a former Democrat, for vice president. As one writer put it, "Ancient party lines are broken. When those who four years ago were Republicans

cordially fraternized with such undoubted old Democrats as Daniel S. Dickenson, Benjamin F. Butler and Thomas G. Alvord, and ardently support for the vice presidency a late slave-holding Southern Democrat like Andrew Johnson, it is clear that those party names have lost their significance. It is idle to call a convention which nominated Andrew Johnson a Republican convention in any purely party sense; or to suppose that Gen. Butler, for instance, will vote for Mr. Lincoln as a technical Democrat."

And here was a pretty good

joke on Mr. Lincoln, who thought they had gotten the cart before the horse in the Baltimore convention by nominating Johnson for vice president before a candidate for president had been chosen. He did not learn of his own nomination at Baltimore until after he had seen the despatch relating to Johnson's nomination for vice president. Lincoln, of course, was nominated first and a number of despatches apprising him of his own nomination were sent to the White House. But he was absent from his official room when they arrived and did not see them until after he had read despatches that were in the war office where he had called, and which told of the nomination of Johnson for the vice presidency. Naturally he concluded that his turn, if it came at all, was to come next. It was all explained when he returned to his official room in the White House. In his speech of acceptance to the notification committee which later waited on him in Washington Mr. Lincoln said he would neither conceal his gratification nor restrain the expression of his gratitude, that the Union people, through their convention, in the continued effort to save and advance the nation, had deemed him worthy to remain in his present position. Members of the National Union League also paid the president a visit, and it was while addressing them that he used the political slogan that has since become famous, "It is best not to swap horses while crossing a stream." It may be stated as historically true that Mr. Lincoln received the unanimous vote of the Baltimore convention on the first ballot. While the presidential election that year was, despite the existence of a war, the quietest ever held, Mr. Lincoln received the greatest majority that had ever been given to a presidential candidate. Of the electoral votes he received 212 to 21 for McClelland.

Referring again to the American Comprehensive Encyclopedia, under the heading, "Republican Party in the United States," it is definitely stated that "in 1864 Mr. Lincoln was unanimously nominated by the Republicans." Now, have I always been wrong in thinking that that is a historical fact? I wonder. What I would like to see is one of the paper ballots used in that 1864 election. The name of the party over the list of candidates would be plenty of proof one way or the other.

Fort Wayne, Ind., Nov. _____--Although Abraham Lincoln is the most famous of all Republicans, it was not through the Republican party that he secured his reelection to the Presidency seventy-five years ago November 6. So stated Dr. L. A. Warren, director of the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company's Lincoln Museum, in an interview here today. Lincoln was reelected on a Union Party ticket. His 1864 nomination had come from the Union Party's June 7 convention in Baltimore.

According to Dr. Warren, the Baltimore convention was composed of men, irrespective of party, who were loyal to the Union. As one editorial writer put it, "We know no other party than the Union men; than the men, that is to say, who, before the war, belonged to all the parties; Democrats, Republicans, and Bell-Everett men and who are now united in an uninfluenced and intelligent support of the policy of the administration in conducting the war."

In commenting that Lincoln should no longer be considered a Republican, one editor of the day said, "He is simply a Union man, and the strongest opposition to him springs from those who were formerly Republicans."

Senator Pomeroy stated at the time that, "No party now exists which has ever been seen in a national convention."

It is significant to note that the nominee for Vice President on the Union party ticket was Andrew Johnson, formerly a southern Democrat.

After Lincoln had been notified of his renomination, he addressed members of the National Union League and first used a political slogan that has since become famous. He said in part: "I am not insensible at all to the personal compliment there is in this; yet I do not allow myself to believe that any but a small portion of it is to be appropriated as a personal compliment. I am reminded in this connection of a story of an old Dutch farmer who remarked to a companion one day that 'it was not best to swap horses when crossing streams.'"

-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-

Walter Harrison Republican 6-11-64

"If the convention at Baltimore will nominate any man whose past life justifies a well grounded confidence in fidelity to our grounded principles, there is no reason why there should be any division among the really patriotic men of the country, my own decided preference is to aid in this way (in supporting the Baltimore nomination) and not to be myself a candidate. But if Mr. L. should be nominated, as I believe it would be fatal to the country to endorse a policy and renew a power which have cost us the lives of thousands of men, and needlessly put the country on the road to bankruptcy there will be no alternative but to organize against him every element of concentrated opposition with the view to prevent the restoration of his ^{re} election. All of which is his merit."

"due consideration" to geographical dispersion of government grants would make a mockery of any objective evaluation, since it would always be subject to unreviewable reversal in response to political pressure.

If anything, the emphasis should be on ways of liberating the choice of where to go and what to do, ways of making the academic and scientific marketplace freer of redtape and programed projects, less dependent upon gaining favor or approval of senior faculty members, administrators and granting agencies than it is now. In short, let the Government be constantly reminded that it is a national investment in education we are talking about, not the purchase of the work product of a particular generation. And seeing this, let us be mindful that the reason university education and research is worth investing in is precisely because it creates more scientists at the same time as it probes into the unknown in unpredictable ways, following the whim of curiosity and intellectual enthusiasm rather than the promise of commercial payout. This is the national asset value of American universities, and it is terribly important that it shall not be distorted, corrupted, or destroyed by methods of support which have their origin in the political economy of geographical interest groups concerned with wage, price, and profit support.

BROADENING THE BASE OF AMERICAN SCIENCE

Having said all this, however, I do believe that there are possibilities for broadening the base of national scientific activity which would inevitably result in an ultimately greater dispersion of centers of excellence. I have no well thought through proposal, certainly no program. I have rather a sense of needs which are not now being adequately met, needs which must be met if we are to enlarge our scientific potential and assure an adequate level of scientific activity a generation from now.

First, the only way to get more centers of excellence is to have more excellent people. The only way to get more excellent people is to encourage them when their capacity is first being developed, when their career motivation is first taking shape. That is in the high school. Equipment, retraining programs, and research leaves for high school teachers of science would enormously increase the chances of sparking the kind of excitement in school science which will lead the brightest students to stretch their capacities and whet their motivation for advanced work.

The same line of development is perhaps even more crucial in the public and private, urban, and liberal arts and sciences colleges which do not have the advantages of university facilities. Science can be creative as well as descriptive to the extent that through the research enthusiasm of the faculty the college student senses the satisfaction of discovery. The research need not be nationally significant, but it must be a process of genuine testing of hypotheses for the teacher. Research and equipment grants for undergraduate science teachers, even if modest, might do much to increase the collegiate sources of future first-rank researchers.

Finally, much might be done to assure the young scientist taking on his first academic assignment that he will have a chance to pursue some independent work with adequate support even if he is not yet ready to compete with established scientists for support. Research support grants to university science departments to establish modest research drawing accounts, for the needs of instructors or assistant professors in the first 3 years of their tenure, would do much to encourage young scientists.

Shattering and scattering the top of the pyramid of American science would be disastrous. However, broadening the base of

that pyramid in the high school, the college, and the beginning years of university academic life would obviously benefit all sectors of the scientific community and the Nation whose future depends upon scientific creativity.

Attention, Mr. President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, June 6, 1964

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, in a speech on the floor of the House on April 21, I pointed out that the printed hearings on the Department of Defense appropriations carried only a hint of what top Pentagon officials actually told our Defense Subcommittee regarding national security and foreign policy.

Anything which might discredit their own or their superior's judgment is all too often stricken from the record, then frequently released with variations to the press.

Too much is at stake in this year of crisis to permit this kind of partisanship.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, serving on both the Defense and Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittees, I can vouch for the validity of the following editorial from *Aviation Week and Space Technology* of June 15, a distinguished magazine with no political ax to grind:

THE CREDIBILITY GAP

(By Robert Hotz)

There are disturbing indications that the credibility of Defense Secretary Robert Strange McNamara and his Pentagon spokesmen is diminishing rapidly at the very time President Lyndon Johnson needs it most to build public support for this Nation's campaign to repel communism in southeast Asia.

Lack of credibility of key Government officials is always a serious matter in a democratic society, but the deepening crisis in Vietnam and Laos, which is certain to demand heavier sacrifices in blood and money from the American people, makes this problem particularly acute now. The American people have never flinched from paying whatever price was necessary to preserve liberty and prevent the spread of tyranny when they understood clearly the issues at stake. But there is diminishing public support for the southeast Asian ventures—at the very time that the crisis is reaching its peak—because of the lessening public belief in the word it is getting from the Pentagon's civilian leaders.

This may prove to be an extremely high price for President Johnson to pay for whatever success Mr. McNamara and his official mouthpiece, Arthur Sylvester, have achieved in their avowed intent to control Pentagon news to suit their own purposes. This policy backfired badly in the Cuban crisis. The sparse and misleading information dispensed from the Pentagon on Cuba reduced public credibility on official statements to such a low point that the late President Kennedy finally had to order Mr. McNamara to put on that extraordinary lantern slide show on national television to convince the American people that the Soviet missiles were really being shipped out of Cuba. Ironically, this performance revealed more genuine intelligence secrets than would have been necessary

if Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester had dispensed the facts as events occurred.

Both Mr. McNamara and Mr. Sylvester came to their Pentagon duties with an unusual belief in the use of the official lie as a national policy instrument. Mr. McNamara first made this clear in 1961 testimony before Congress on the Nike Zeus when he said:

"Why should we tell Russia that Zeus developments may not be satisfactory? What we ought to be saying is that we have the most perfect anti-ICBM system that the human mind will ever devise." Mr. McNamara probably doesn't see any similarity in the tactics he proposed and Nikita Khrushchev's insistence that the Soviets have perfected an anti-ICBM system that can "hit a fly in the sky," but many Americans will. Mr. Sylvester expounded the right to tell official lies in his now infamous New York Deadline Club speech (AW Dec. 17, 1962, p. 35). Although he then maintained that this basic "right to lie" should be used only to avert nuclear war, he has in fact adopted it as a standard operational practice. His credibility has sunk so low that most Pentagon reporters really don't believe a story until it has been officially denied. Even his subordinates are apologetic for the more blatant episodes.

During Mr. McNamara's first appearances before Congress, its key leaders were impressed with his ability to answer on the spot any question they asked. It was not until several times around the same track that they began to develop misgivings over the accuracy of many of these answers and began to wonder if the Secretary's talents lay more toward glibness than research. Among the incidents that have shaken his once strong credibility with Congress are:

His claim that forcing USAF and Navy to use the same F-111 (TFX) design would save a billion dollars. Later testimony showed that this was a rough calculation made by an aid on the back of an envelope before a contractor was even selected for the project.

The manner in which many of his economy claims for the Defense Department budget have evaporated under congressional scrutiny, and how many of them have simply turned out to be the difference between what might have been spent and what was ordered to be spent.

His public insistence that the Lockheed YF-12A (A-11) was developed from the start as an interceptor for USAF, despite knowledge by key congressmen that this aircraft was sponsored and funded by the Central Intelligence Agency as a superspy successor to the U-2.

His repeated optimistic reports on the Vietnam war that are regularly contradicted by events occurring on the battlefield. It is ironic that his credibility has sunk so low on this score that even when he is right—as in the case of which aircraft types are proper for this operation—few believe him any more.

As the facts in all of these areas eventually emerge and erode the official position taken by Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, their efforts to suppress and control the Pentagon information flow become more violent and ridiculous. Mr. Sylvester's internal Pentagon directive to all military public information officers ordering the F-111 to be portrayed publicly as a success regardless of what the facts may be (AW, Apr. 27, p. 31) would read more appropriately in the Cyrillic alphabet than in English. The idea of proclaiming that an aircraft will meet all of the military service requirements before the first prototype has rolled out or made its initial flight is so ludicrous it belongs in a George Orwell book. The latest attempt by Mr. Sylvester to further tighten control of military news (AW, June 8, p. 20) has been widely interpreted—and we think correctly so—as an

other indication of how badly the tide is running against our efforts in Vietnam.

Now we have the incredible spectacle of eight USAF F-100 fighter-bombers making a strike on foreign soil—the first U.S. offensive military action since Korea—and the Government trying to suppress this news and keep it from the American people.

Clearly it is time, not only for a reappraisal of the credibility of Messrs. McNamara and Sylvester, but also for a realistic examination of an official information policy that is widening the gap between the Government and its people at a critical time in the fate of this Nation.

Lincoln's Nomination 100 Years Ago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 8, 1964

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, last week Republican delegates from the State of Maryland convened in Baltimore for their State convention. Just 100 years ago another group of Republicans met in Baltimore to hold a national convention for the purpose of nominating a Republican presidential candidate. The choice was Abraham Lincoln for a second term as President of the United States.

In commemoration of the 100th anniversary of President Lincoln's nomination the Republican Party of Maryland sponsored a centennial dinner. The program carried an article on "Lincoln's Nomination 100 Years Ago" written by Charles L. Wagandt II. For its historic value to all Americans I include the article here in the RECORD and commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

LINCOLN'S NOMINATION 100 YEARS AGO

(By Charles L. Wagandt II)

Republican politicians from across the Nation crowded into Baltimore's Front Street Theatre just 100 years ago this week. They had come to nominate Abraham Lincoln for a second term as President of the United States. There was irony in this choice of Baltimore, for Lincoln had been forced only 3 years before to travel secretly through our then hostile and tumultuous city. Now a bloody war and a new surge of Union sentiment had placed Baltimore in friendly hands. Lincoln could be assured of a warm welcome whenever he should set foot in the city.

The building selected to hold the convention dated back to 1829. Located at Front and Low Streets, it had survived a disastrous fire and a destructive tornado. The scene of many notable events, the theater delighted Baltimoreans with concerts by Jenny Lind, the "Swedish Nightingale," and provided the setting for Stephen A. Douglas' nomination for President by the National Democratic Convention in 1860.

Four years later careful preparations by a city council committee converted the Front Street Theatre once again into a convention hall. Scenery and stage apparatus yielded to more practical adornments as workers floored over the entire parquette. Along with part of the stage, this provided space for seats for the delegates.

The private boxes on the stage were reserved for distinguished persons, including the mayor of Baltimore and Governor of the

State. The delegates, their alternates, and members of the press got the exclusive right to the lower floor, while the dress circle was allocated to ladies in the company of gentlemen. The second and third tiers were opened to the public.

Decorations emphasized the "old flag," one of which measured 53 feet long by 35 feet wide. A reporter called it one of the Nation's largest. But what of the comforts of those in attendance? Knowing how hot Baltimore could get in June, some foresighted person arranged for the free dispensing of ice water. An additional service came from the American Telegraph Co., which placed three of its instruments in the theater along with a corps of competent operators.

The convention generated a heavy flow of visitors to Baltimore. Two of our best known hostelrys, Barnum's Hotel and the Eutaw House, received most of the delegates. These men represented a wide cross section of political antecedents. There were War Democrats, Southern Unionists, and old anti-slavery men. They joined hands with Republicans, who dropped their name in the interest of wartime solidarity. The Baltimore assemblage assumed the more palatable title of National Union Convention.

At 11 o'clock on the morning of June 7 the doors of the Front Street Theater flung open. An awaiting throng rushed up the stairs to the public accommodations. Quickly the theater filled. As the noon hour neared, a band from Fort McHenry struck up a national air.

The convention came to order. The Reverend Robert J. Breckenridge of Kentucky, temporary president of the convention, was introduced. This bearded, white-haired Presbyterian preacher and onetime lawyer and college president, spoke from a background of personal tragedy. Two sons were fighting for the Confederacy, yet the grizzled old warrior said that "the only imperishable cement of all free institutions has been the blood of traitors." Every rebel killed will add "to the life of the Government and the freedom of your children." Harsh, startling words, but the tall Kentuckian pressed on. Like a host of his fellow delegates, he loved the Constitution and saw it as a viable document, capable of being altered to suit the people. This right to change eliminated the need for revolution.

Yet America was in the midst of revolution, fed in part by a conscience long tormented by the great issue of slavery. This convention wanted it abolished. Breckenridge expressed his feeling by saying that he prayed God the day would come when "every man may be as free as you are."

That evening the brilliantly lighted theater presented a magnificent spectacle to those on the stage. Ex-Gov. William Denison, of Ohio, assumed the presidency of the convention and addressed the audience with the customary allusions to slavery, rebellion, and Lincoln's forthcoming nomination. More business and a speech by Parson Brownlow of Tennessee followed. Apparently this was not enough to satisfy everybody, because after adjournment a large crowd hastened to Monument Square for additional oratory.

The next morning the Front Street Theater again filled. This was the day of decision for both platform and presidential ticket. First, though, the convention had to decide which of two delegations to admit from Missouri. One embodied radical, anti-Lincoln sentiment while the other clung to a more conservative, pro-Lincoln approach. The verdict went to the radicals by the overwhelming count of 440 to 4.

But this should not be considered too surprising when it is recognized that a large portion of the convention supported Lincoln with considerable reluctance. Nearly all of Maryland's delegation, though instructed to vote for Lincoln, were ready to show their

opposition if they could hope thereby to accomplish something. But of course these men were too practical to fight the inevitable. Lincoln enjoyed too great popularity with the people.

Once the Missouri question was resolved, several Southern States gained convention seats, some with and some without the right to vote. This business settled, the convention adopted by acclamation a platform. The document called for unconditional surrender and the punishment of rebels and traitors, a statement indicative of postwar trials and hangings. This form of vindictiveness was not in keeping with Lincoln's wishes. Nor would the President have attacked his Cabinet officer, Montgomery Blair, a Marylander and conservative emancipationist. The platform writers, however, thrust their barbs at Blair, a renowned brawler of radicals.

The platform was less personal in calling for a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. "Justice and the national safety" demanded this action. Other issues also attracted attention, such as the swift construction of a railroad to the west coast.

The platform approved, the convention turned to nominating a President of the United States. Though the result was assured, pandemonium broke loose. Frantically did one delegate after another seek the privilege of offering Lincoln's name. Rival motions snarled the convention into a parliamentary tangle. At last the nomination was properly made and seconded, whereupon one delegate, disappointed in his expectations of making the nomination himself, leaped on a settee and began speaking. Catcalls rang through the hall, but the enraged speaker continued to talk in the midst of such a hubbub that he could not be heard.

Then came the rollcall, which went smoothly and unanimously until the Missouri radicals cast their votes for Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. Disapproving growls rumbled through the theater. The delegates apparently were content to show some of their displeasure with the President through the platform and admission of the Missouri radicals but thought it foolish to go further.

The vote continued. Before the announcement of the final tally of 484-22 could be made, a Missouri delegate moved that Lincoln's nomination be made unanimous. It was agreed amidst a wild flurry of applause. Pent-up enthusiasm burst its bonds. As one observer noted, "Men hurraed, embraced one another, threw up their hats, danced in the aisles or on the platform, jumped on the benches, waved flags, yelled, and committed every possible extravagance. * * * And when the big brass band burst out with "Hail, Columbia" the racket was so intolerable that this eyewitness raised his eyes to the roof to see if it were being lifted by the sound. Once quiet was restored, the band struck a lively rendition of "Yankee Doodle," sparking another outburst of enthusiasm.

Eventually the convention got back to work, giving its consideration to the Vice Presidency. Three candidates drew substantial strength on the first rollcall. Before it was over, a new bandwagon began moving. Several States switched their support to Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, giving him the prize. A few more items of business, and the convention adjourned.

That evening crowds thronged Monument Square. Baltimoreans got their chance to cheer the ticket of Lincoln and Johnson. Numerous speakers addressed the rally until late in the evening. The fortitude of our ancestors was astonishing, but then of course no radio, television, or movies competed for attention.

The next day a committee from the National Union Convention officially informed Lincoln of his nomination. The work of the Baltimore convention was finished.

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